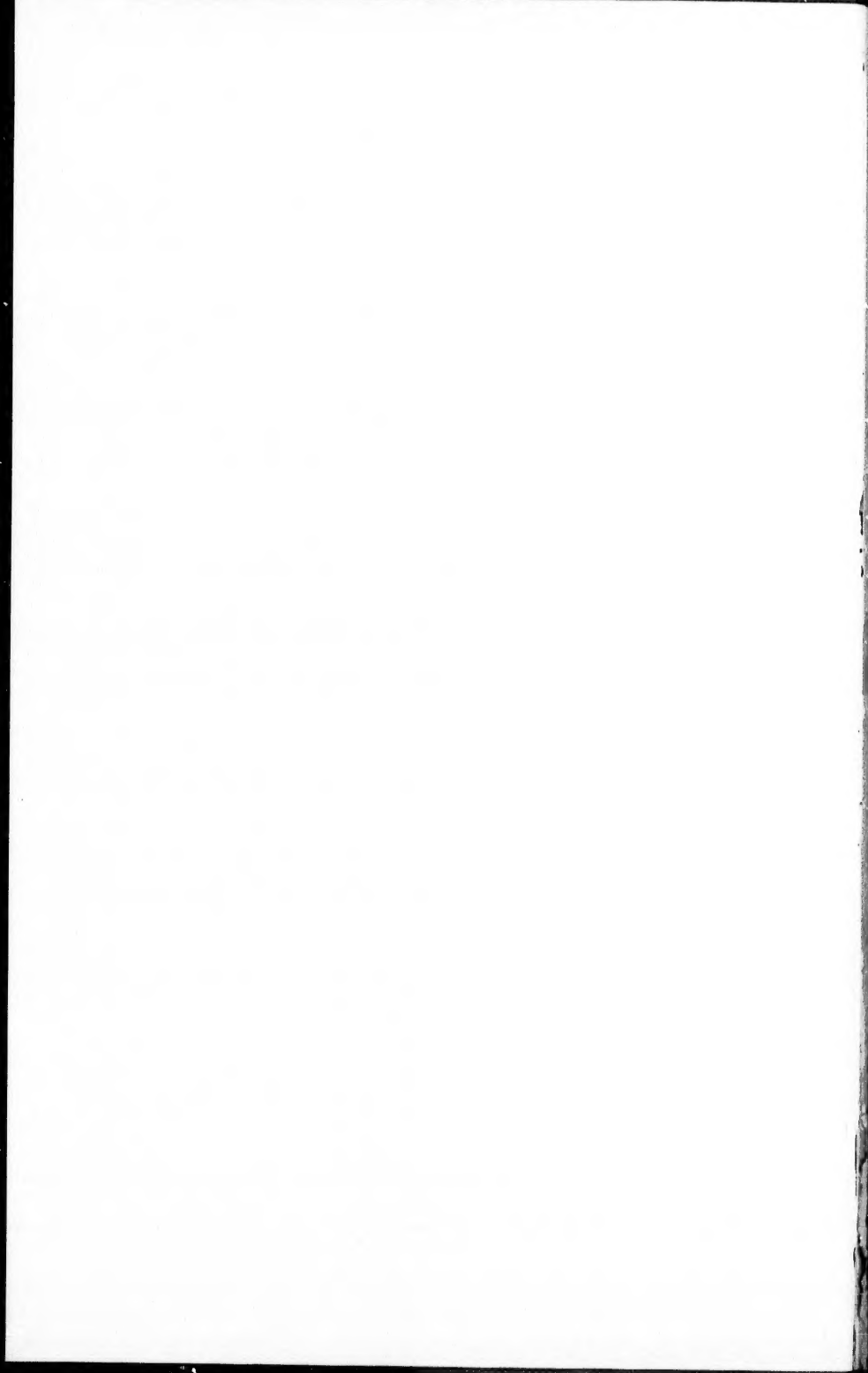


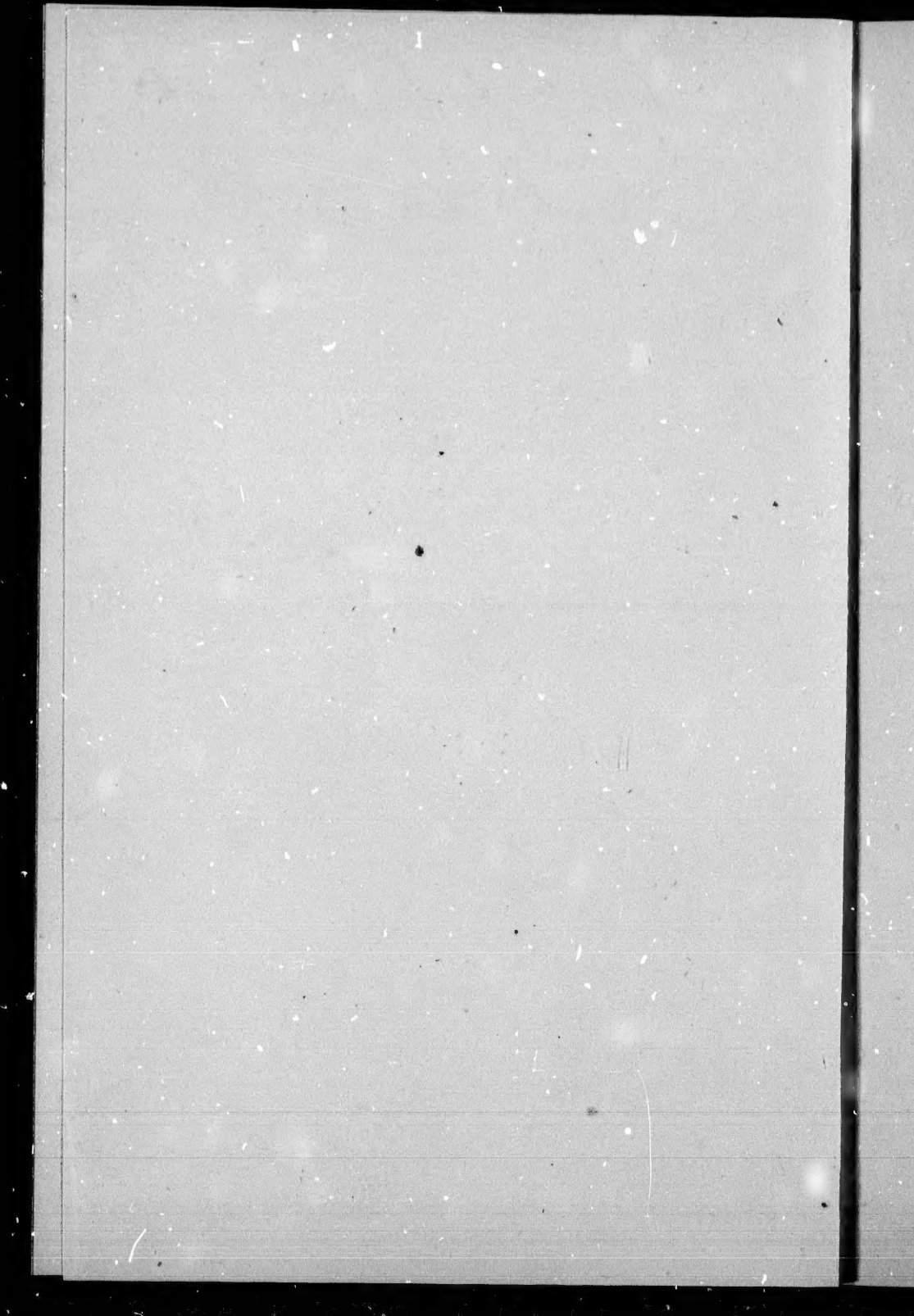


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STATE EMIGRATION:

AN ESSAY.

BY

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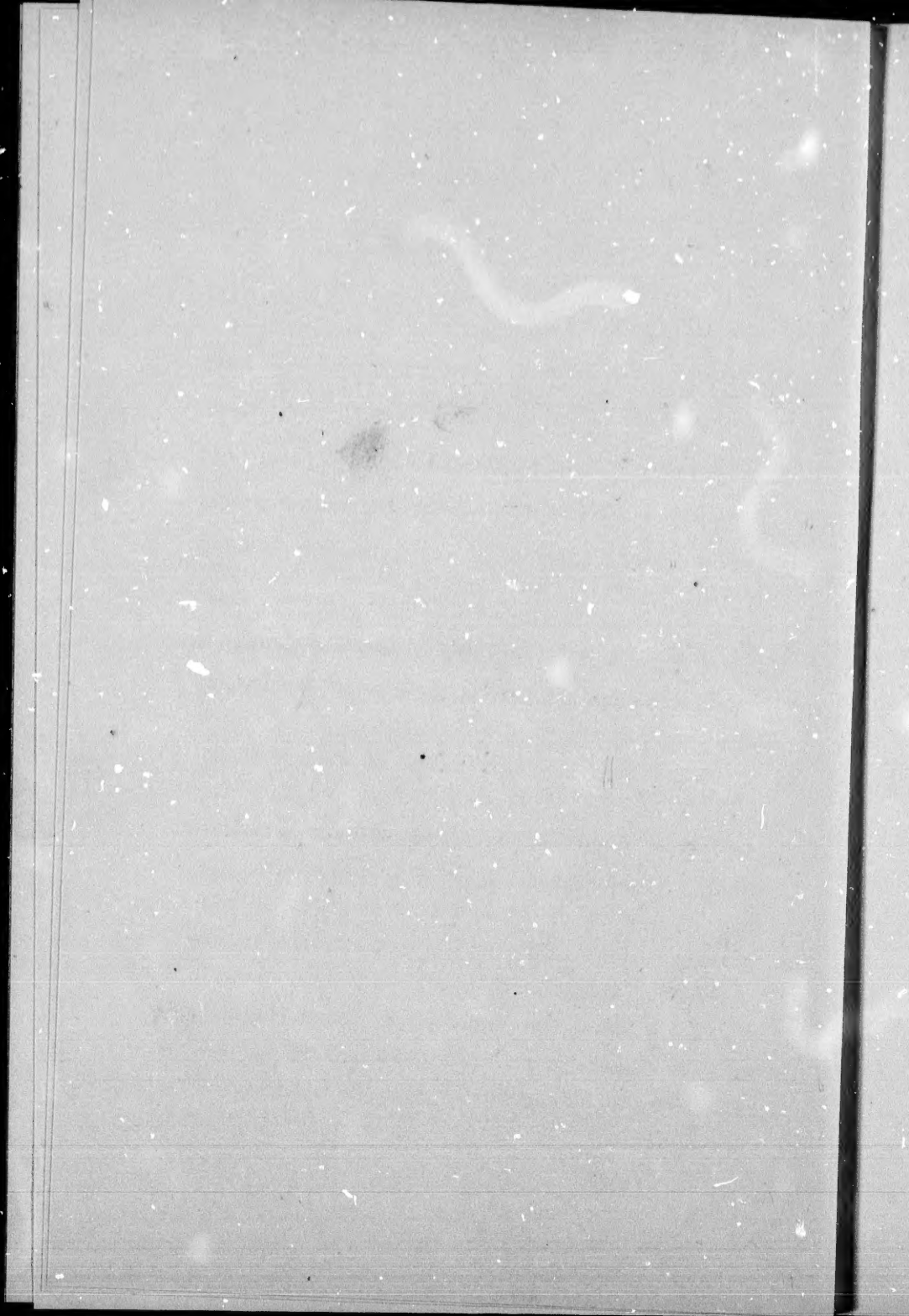
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P R E F A C E.

As good wine needs no bush—a good book needs no dedication. A bad book should have none. This Essay is therefore thrown upon the balances of public judgment, without adding the feather-weight of a name, distinguished or indifferent, to affect the poise. It is issued with the special object of explaining to the working classes the principles and advantages of an Emigration policy. May I hope that no class will view it with disregard? Much that is new in it to some will be trite to others; yet it has not been without benefit or high commendation that men have at certain times brought out of their treasury things old as well as new.



STATE EMIGRATION.

AN ESSAY.

IF any one, as I have done, looks with his own eyes upon the state of things in our colonies and at home, there will be forced on his attention with irresistible emphasis the weightiness of the issues wrapped up in the word EMIGRATION.

Beyond the sea endless tracts of wealthy loam waiting for the husbandman's toil to excite its fertility—forests of timber standing in useless though picturesque solitude, and hiding from the sun of heaven an exuberant soil—rich prairies offering pasture without stint for innumerable cattle—rivers of volume and breadth sufficient to carry into the heart of the land fleets of freight-bearing ships—everywhere in profusion those advantages which are to be coveted for the nursing-places of new nations.

On this side of the water, we have a land, not without many scenes of beauty and fertility, unable to provide from its own bosom sustenance for the numbers who dwell upon it—agriculture artificially carried on at great expense, while the competition for the labour it requires keeps thousands in perpetual poverty and degradation—huge cities crowded by hungry artisans, who, in the fierce eagerness of bread-winning, use threats and violence towards each other and towards their employers—women in multitudes made prostitutes by want or over-crowding—starving hundreds of thousands daily knocking at workhouse-doors—vagrants in nearly every street, lane, and road—crime grown desperate, becoming more rapacious and terrible in its outbreaks—death reaping his gloomy harvest in vast fields where disease and hunger have matured the grain.

Can I be wrong when I say that he who has really looked upon these things with open eyes will have the weightiness of the question I am about to discuss forced upon his conviction with an emphasis he cannot resist?

Still let me be careful not to over-value the interest of the subject. For the startling conditions of society I have so rapidly outlined, I shall not insist upon Emigration as a

panacea. Vast as may be the changes that can be wrought by its agency, that agency must not displace or obstruct other social improvements, but must go hand-in-hand with them. The question of the relations of Capital and Labour is not to be settled by Emigration, though the way to a settlement will be smoothed by it. The question of the revision of the Poor Law system is not to be avoided by Emigration, though that will in every way facilitate its solution. The question of the condition of the agricultural labourer is not to be set aside by Emigration, though everyone can see how greatly Emigration will assist in the removal of the chief difficulties. The questions of vagrancy, prostitution, the distribution of land, and many others, cannot be solved, though they can be argued with far more hope of a favourable issue by the aid of Emigration. In the spirit thus indicated I propose to examine the subject.

In Mr. Wakefield's "View of the Art of Colonization," the person to whom the *pseudonym* of "Statesman" is therein given, says—"There is a good deal of pretty and seemingly earnest talking and writing about Colonization, but what else I know not. Colonization, I take it, is something to be done, not something to be merely known, like geography or astronomy. Who is there who

“ can tell us what they would have Parliament do ?
 “ Who proposes any plan ? Who is seriously
 “ looking to important practical results ? ”

These questions, put twenty years ago, are becoming every day more eager in the necessity for reply, more serious in their interest. Unless they are practically answered soon, what will be the solution of the difficulties that prompted them ?

For brevity's sake, I do not intend to examine the history of this question. I shall not investigate the system of ancient Colonization, nor even give an outline of the facts and discussions of past years in this country. Reports of Committees of 1826, 1827, 1834 ; of Mr. Ward's Committee of 1836 ; of the Devon Commission ; the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Emigration ; the history of the Colonization Society of 1830, by which the Colonies of South Australia and New Zealand were founded ; debates, discussions, books, pamphlets, reviews, form a literature upon this single subject astonishing to a novice, and in which really almost every point of importance has been discussed.

Not professing, therefore, to offer a series of original propositions in this essay, I shall, for the sake of rapidity and convenience, adopt such principles and arguments as appear to me to be sound, without reference to authorities, and without hesitating,

when the subject demands it, to state, in my own way, matters that are familiar, or even what is elementary.

Nor shall I observe any nice distinctions between terms, such as "Colonization" and "Emigration—" "systematic" and "systematised." My meaning when I use the word Emigration, is the exportation of the redundant population from this country, to some other, where their strength and skill are needed to develop their capabilities. As to system, I only wish to erect such a system as naturally rises into shape from certain facts and principles which I am going to propound.

Let me first glance at the conditions of Emigration as it now exists.

Of late years Emigration to the colonies has been carried on through arrangements made by the various colonies in conjunction with the Imperial Commissioners of Emigration. The latter have exercised supervision over the vessels in which emigrants were carried, have provided information at various agencies, have been themselves, to some extent, agents of different colonies for the purpose of managing their Emigration schemes, in selecting colonists or providing free passages, and have made elaborate reports to the Home Government. Their assistance has stopped here. They have had no

power to inaugurate any scheme of Emigration, or to use public funds to promote the settlement of colonists.

The Colonial Governments naturally take great practical interest in the subject. Some of them, as the Australian colonies, have offered free passages upon warrants granted here by the Emigration Commissioners, or issued at half-price to persons in the colony desirous of importing their relatives or friends. In other colonies, as recently in provinces of the New Dominion of Canada, free grants of 100 acres of good land, uncleared, are offered to able-bodied male settlers of eighteen years of age and upwards, but no assistance in the way of passages or funds is offered to emigrants. Nova Scotia has attracted many persons to her shores by sending agents to select families and provide means for their transit, but a number of these persons have taken advantage of their proximity to the United States to disappoint the intentions of their patrons. The Queensland Government, by a recent Homestead law, offers lands at very moderate prices on easy terms, and free passages to women servants who are single.

These are the general features of assisted Emigration as it is. There is little uniformity, no organisation. As the colonies begin to feel the

want of labourers, they send for them, and so long as there is a pretty steady advance in colonial prosperity they are not careful to use extraordinary efforts to quicken the progression. The number of assisted Emigrants in 1866-1867 was as follows :—

1865-1866-1867	New South Wales	3417
" " "	Queensland.	2027
1866-1867	Victoria	735
" "	South Australia	3097
" "	Western Australia	114
" "	Cape of Good Hope	2
" "	Natal	32
" "	Falkland Islands	27
Total.		9451

Out of an Emigration of a little over 200,000.

Private Emigration, therefore, is very considerable, and Ireland continues to be the source from which it flows in greatest volume. There its principal aid is derived from the United States, whither famines, our course of policy, and other influences have transferred nearly half a nation. It is very essential to observe the difference between Emigration to America and to our colonies. In the latter the labour-market is limited, in the former it is large and constantly increasing. In the colonies there are few great cities and a moderate commerce; in the United States there

are communities and a trade vieing with those of the old world. The consequences are natural. The great field for pauper emigrants, who can afford to pay their passages and no more, must be one in which they will find instant occupation at a remuneration. The vast engineering works projected and executed in America, caused that great demand for labour in the United States which supported the unparalleled exodus from our shores. As some of the emigrants improved their fortunes, they pushed further West, to settle on the rich lands of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and the territories. Others occupied their places in the midway States, and for these again substitutes were required from the Atlantic border. So the great waves of population which took their impulse from Ireland finally broke and scattered themselves upon the base of the Rocky Mountains. When the first emigrants succeeded, moved by that faithfulness and affection whereby the Celtic race is ennobled, they sent home money to take out their friends; these, again, transmitted funds to their relations, and thus the great circle has been moving, money home, and people out, until there is needed in Ireland no artificial action to keep the movement at a pace sufficient even to alarm a political economist. The amounts remitted since

1848 are thus stated in the last Report of the Emigration Commissioners :—

FROM NORTH AMERICA.	
1848	£460,000
1849	540,000
1850	957,900
1851	990,000
1852	1,404,000
1853	1,439,000
1854	1,730,000
1855	873,000
1856	951,000
1857	593,165
1858	472,610
1859	520,019
1860	534,476
1861	374,061
1862	360,578
1863	383,286, and £44,123 from America and Australia.
1864	332,172
1865	481,580
1866	498,028

£13,893,975 sterling.

Let it be remembered that Irish Emigration has been chiefly that of a redundant pauper population; that it took place under peculiar circumstances with peculiar people; that a field of singular appositeness was ready to receive it; and that, once

begun and attended with success, it continues by a natural impulse.

No movement like the Irish Emigration could take place from England and Scotland. The political reasons for it do not exist. Warm-hearted political discontent at home gives it no impulse. The United States is a congenial sphere to the Irishman, where he finds a people ready to sympathise with whatever he alleges to be wrongs. Moreover he is of constitution different from an Englishman, more pliant, more submissive to hardships, less careful about circumstances, and every way more likely to succeed. I have seen Irish men and women in the United States who had grown to wealth from the pickaxe and washtub, while Englishmen worked on heavily at some trade, either because they were always at sword-point with the people among whom they had settled, or carried their English notions of comfort into practice at the expense of their savings, or insisted on their old-world prejudices where they should have forgotten them. A tanner in a large way in Philadelphia told me he never cared to employ an Englishman. "They are so pig-headed. Nothing is right unless it is done in the English way. Now our leather does not require the same sort of treatment as English leather. English leather does not wear

“so well in our climate, on brick pavements. “We do not keep the skins so long in the “pits as they do in England. Yet I have an “Englishman at work for me who is always crying out against our methods and insisting on “his own. It is disagreeable to work with him, “and he gets into difficulties with the other “men.” The principal manufacturer of locomotive engines in the United States gave similar testimony to a friend of mine. “An Englishman “in a factory is a nuisance. I never employ one “if I can help it.” After having lived several years in the United States, my personal opinion is, that a large Emigration of English labourers to that country would not be successful.

I have described the extent of Government assistance to Emigration. It may be said to be an official dry-nursing of so indifferent a character as almost to approach to baby-farming. Even information is not as generally scattered as it ought to be. How differently the Government of the United States appreciates the advantages of Emigration may be judged of from the anxiety they have shown to foster it. At home they offered lands on very low terms to settlers—abroad nearly every Consul is incidentally an Emigration agent. At Consulates in England and on the Continent, I have been told,

information as to lands, labour-markets, climates, prices, passages, can be had by any inquirer, however poor he may be. This must contribute to the result, that from the Continent a steady tide of Emigration flows to America. A gentleman from Canada, one of the Commissioners to the Exhibition of 1851, who interested himself in promoting Emigration to that province, informs me that he went to Germany with the object of tempting some of her thrifty sons to settle in Canada. He found that they knew nothing about the country, nor could they obtain information. He was told—"If a man goes to a British Consulate and asks what sort of a place Canada is," the answer is likely to be somewhat in these terms, "Oh ! I don't know much about it; but it's precious cold there in winter." At the United States Consulate he would learn everything he ought to know, and be treated with a consideration that indicates how well the value of such additions to the population is understood by these practical Americans. We cannot wonder, therefore, that of 27,084 persons, who in 1866 took steamship to Canada, only 4303* remained in the provinces, the rest going directly through the country to the Western States. Here at least there seems to be a duty for our Govern-

* Report of the Emigration Commission, 1867, p. 47.

ment. Sweden, Norway, Germany, France and Italy send out thousands of valuable colonists without an effort on our part to secure them. It might be an admirable utilisation of waste material to set the energies of our Corsuls, and even of subordinates in our Diplomatic Corps, at work upon disseminating information respecting the resources of our colonies. The United States offers to the struggler with poverty an attractive and promising arena: if we wish to divert for our own benefit any of the wealth of labour which that country is acquiring at our expense, action and sacrifice are necessary.

I have not yet alluded to the efforts to transfer distress from a hopeless to a promising field, of which the East-end Emigration Committee and Miss Rye are the conspicuous agents. The history of these movements is before the world, illuminated by success. Miss Rye's work it would be mere impertinence to endeavour to applaud. Many poor women, rejoicing in the life she has helped to uncloud, and many whose hope of life she has assisted them to regain, must be looking with affectionate gratitude to the pioneer of their happiness.

But a fair review of such movements, however successful in themselves, brings into prominence two facts. Pauper Emigration, assisted by charity, must in the main be that of labourers and

not settlers, while it affords no warrant that this class of emigrants will be desirable to the colony, or will remain in it. I shall show directly, that to establish a family on a free grant of land even, a sum of money is required, enough to put any extensive aid to Emigration beyond the reach of charity. As to the character of emigrants, I am aware that both Miss Rye and the East-end Committee have taken strict precautions to select proper persons. Yet complaints come from the colonies, that in the anxiety to get paupers off their hands, people have been too ready to recommend their departure from home. Many kind persons, and guardians of the poor, who are not generally considered kind persons, may be unconscious of their their own willingness to get rid of troublesome poverty. To the colonies it is a matter of critical moment to have an industrious and well-behaved class of people settled on their waste lands. The colonial police is limited, and the population is scattered. A few bad men may ruin a whole township, or a batch of worthless persons become a charge upon the towns. Some guarantee is necessary that a proper class of persons shall be exported, and that they shall not become a burden upon the colonies. To accomplish this with a pauper Emigration is, I may safely say, impracticable, unless it is done with

the help and under the supervision of Government. The little labour the colonies are able to absorb could no doubt be easily supplied to them with private assistance ; but if large numbers are to be sent out to *settle*, and not to compete for work, those communities will naturally exclaim against the impropriety of sending out settlers without the capital to give them a fair start in their new life.

We must then distinguish between two classes of emigrants. Labourers, artisans, domestic servants, for whom work is waiting in the colonies, and who, therefore, if industrious, may expect to win a livelihood as soon as they are put ashore. For these, as we have already said, the demand is limited, and could by energetic charity be fully supplied without Government assistance. The effect of their extrusion on the mass of redundant labour in this country would, however, be nearly inappreciable.

Another class of emigrants is necessary both to relieve us at home and to strengthen the colonies, those whom I term *settlers*, as distinguished from *labourers*. To schemes for promoting the exportation of this class, the Colonization Society, Mr. Wakefield, Lord Durham, Mr. Buller, and others devoted themselves. Their method may roughly be described as the transportation of com-

munities, instead of the emigration of individuals. But, though attended with some success, their schemes halted in consequence of the indisposition of capital rank and intelligence to emigrate, and we have in fact now grown beyond them. The colonies are established, and have become societies, and I think I may safely say that henceforth Emigration, as a policy, becomes a question of the removal of individuals who cannot remove themselves. I hope I shall be forgiven—for I recognise all the good they did—if I say, looking back upon the history of Colonization since 1830, that the Colonization people embarrassed their propositions with too many crotchets. It tries one's gravity somewhat to think of exporting in one vessel a society containing the grades and classes of a home town, to settle in perfect order on a huge piece of land which is, when they set out, pervaded by kangaroos.

Secondly, charitable Emigration can never be extensive enough to afford the requisite relief. The funds required for the removal of hundreds of thousands, the organisation, discipline, facilities, and conveniences of transport, the guarantee of good conduct and repayment of monies advanced could only be secured with Government resources and authority. At present the continued indiffer-

ence of Government to Emigration not only permits the evils of our situation to be exaggerated, but may directly contribute to augment them. In making some inquiries of an Emigration Agent at Truro, employed by Messrs. Allan Brothers, of Montreal, Glasgow, and Liverpool, whose enterprise has, I believe, greatly assisted a process of Canadian immigration, he told me that with leave to grant free passages he could weekly ship from Cornwall large numbers of unemployed people, who were of the right stuff to found settlements. Even now the men manage to get away in hundreds, but the significant fact stated to me was one, in my sad belief, by no means uncommon in England. The agent told me of instances in which these manly Cornishmen sold nearly everything they had to procure enough money for their own passage, and left their wives and children to be provided for by the parish; moreover, he added, that not unfrequently such emigrants were never heard from again. This must often be the result of an unassisted Emigration, and thus the helpless and unproductive are thrown upon public support. I shall hereafter urge this as a reason for insisting that a Government Emigration should be an Emigration of families.

I assume that I need not in detail prove the

existence in England of circumstances that render Emigration by some means or other imperative. The excess of agricultural labour is evidenced by the low rates of wages and the condition of the labourers, to which reanimated attention has been lately directed. The agitation of the working classes, and the attempts to limit the supply of labour, or diffuse its rewards with fixed equality, indicate that there are more artisans in the field than opportunities of employment. The distress at the East-end arising out of similar causes and out of the translation of work to cheaper labour-markets affords another proof. In Cornwall the failure of some mines, or the unremunerative condition of others, at the wages-rate insisted on by the miners, and the discovery of richer mines in new countries, has thrown masses of men into a condition of want and starvation. And the statistics of the Poor Law Board complete, with unmitigated sternness, the tale of evidence that unless some plan is devised to relieve our over-stocked country inconceivable disaster threatens its future. So strongly does this excite anxiety in some minds that we have had public meetings, at which the doctrines of Malthus were insisted on with extreme energy and gravity, and a crusade is to be preached

against generation by persons who have themselves been born.

Out of all these things two points are brought into clear notice. *The first* is that there is, in this country, an excess of working labour. *The second* is that there is an enormous mass of inert labour.

The proposition is irrefutable that if a number of men are engaged in doing what fewer could do the excess of possible work over that actually done is a loss. But it has also been urged with some assurance that the amount and quality of the work done by the more does not equal in amount or quality the work that would be done by the fewer in the case supposed. The Committee of 1827 quote with emphasis the statement of Mr. Cosway, a proprietor in Romney Marsh and the Weald of Kent, "that
 "in the case of eight labourers being employed
 "only seven-eighths of the working time throughout
 "the year, there was one redundant labourer, but
 "that the aggregate work executed by these eight
 "men did not represent the work which ought to
 "have been effected by seven labourers under the
 "satisfactory adjustment of the supply of labour
 "and demand." I may state the proposition in this way:—If work is distributed amongst more labourers than are actually necessary to do it, and the aggregate wages for the amount of work done

is the same, each labourer is not only required to do less in consequence of the larger distribution of employment, but will do that less in an inferior manner. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the suggestion that, getting less work, he is deprived of a proportion of earnings, is therefore less animated by the encouragement of larger pay, and is not so well provided with the nourishment to enable him to support greater exertion. His energies are kept in imperfect play, and reserve of strength becomes a habit of indolence. I noticed in the United States that mechanics there who, in consequence of the scarcity of labour and high wages, are kept working to their utmost capabilities, lived better than some persons accustomed in England to consider themselves of good station. Meat, or poultry, and various vegetables, constitute a Philadelphia mechanic's every-day meal, and owing to the admirable system of working men's dwellings in that city, he is able to enjoy it in his own tenement. The independence and spirit engendered by these favourable circumstances, however distasteful to notions of subordination in rank, are very welcome to the employer, since he views their results in more energetic and faithful work.

When, therefore, we look at the actual number

of persons employed in England, we may accept it as a fact that the aggregate of work done could be done by fewer persons in a better manner. For example, if in an agricultural parish the number of men seeking employment could be reduced, the rest, upon the higher wages they could then obtain, would do the same amount of work that was done before the reduction more satisfactorily. Hence, a large fraction of working labour could be removed from this country, to the benefit of that which is left, without diminishing the aggregate of work done, or increasing the whole sum to be paid for that aggregate.

Unhappily there is not only diffuseness of employment in comparison with the capabilities of what I have termed working labour, we must contemplate an inert mass of possible workers, or what are called in Poor-law statistics "able-bodied paupers," who not only produce nothing, but are a direct tax upon the community. On the 1st of January, 1868, from a statement generally familiar, 1,040,103 paupers received relief at the public expense throughout the United Kingdom. Seven millions a-year is required to keep up the flow of this relief. In these statistics are not included the considerable numbers assisted or supported by private charity, and the numbers on any single day.

in the year can scarcely represent the real number of paupers in the kingdom. Now, allowing that amongst these people there are hundreds of thousands of sick, infirm, incapables and incurables, an enormous residue of able-bodied persons, or as I have designated it, *inert labour*, must still remain. Besides these, there are the criminal classes who are usually able to work if they were willing to do it honestly.

I am one, who, as the result of my observation among the poor, and specially in places where labour is scarce, believe that if an ample supply of work exists, and men and women can earn a livelihood by it, they will labour instead of being paupers, and prefer honest labour to being criminals. Where there is a sufficient demand for labourers, nearly every able-bodied man, woman and child will be found striving to earn a living. Of course a certain percentage of pauperism and criminality exists everywhere. Indolence and vice are epidemic: but these will decrease in the inverse ratio of the prosperity of the labour market. Confirmatory of this is a curious fact stated some time since in the *Statistical Journal*. In five unions in Wilts and Dorset, where the wages were 9s. 6d. a week, the poor-rate was 8s. 2d. per head. In five unions in Cumberland and Northumberland, where the

rate of wages was 14s. 6d. per week, the poor rate per head was 5s. 5d., that is to say, where wages were 53 per cent. higher, the poor relief cost 35 per cent. less.

In this country, unfortunately, the excess of labour-supply over employment has tended to clog the enterprise and warp the independent spirit of portions of the populace. It is possible, therefore, that to produce the effect just described, time and education will be necessary, even should we succeed soon in relieving the labour market of its excess. But persons whom habit has made hopelessly indolent will become the fit subjects of discipline, when it can be proved that the state of society does not palliate their conduct.

The argument lately advanced appears to me to supply an answer to the objection frequently made that Emigration is apt to take away from the community some of its most hard-working and valuable members, without relieving it of those who sap its resources. Is not the objection very short-sighted? That inert mass of labour, of which I have spoken, is to be moved in one way—by creating a vacuum near it. As surely as motionless air will quicken into movement, and rush with lightning speed to fill a void in nature, so certainly will the inactive energies of human beings be set

in motion by an opening for their exercise. Hence the philanthropist in promoting Emigration is not bound, *though he might* legitimately do so, to hold out a promise of instant improvement in the general condition of the poorer classes. He may urge that the next and succeeding generations will profit by his policy; that paupers will give place to workers; that the process of transmutation is simple, and the principles of his alchemy are sure. Another fact relating to the circumstances by which Emigration is prompted comes in here with cumulative effect. Notwithstanding a large exodus, the population of the United Kingdom continues to increase. The addition to the population in the ten years, 1851-1860, was 1,575,339, although in about the same period 2,054,823 persons left our shores. The actual natural increase, therefore, allowing for foreign emigrants passing through the kingdom, would be more than 3,000,000. As, however, the greater number of our own emigrants were of a character likely to add to the population, the rate of increase will not perhaps be sustained in the present decennial period. The increase of population obviously tends to exaggerate the injurious conditions already reviewed.

With labouring labour in excess, an immense incubus of inert labour, continuous additions to

both, accumulation of capital in a restricted field of employment, not to speak of an enervated trade, we are driven to face the question—*What can Emigration do to mitigate both the evils and the perils of our situation?*

For the situation is perilous. No superhuman vision is needed to see that labour, lately endued with new political force in the community, looks with jealous eyes at capitalists and landholders whose vast aggregations so conspicuously contrast with its own want. The questions the labouring classes will put to themselves are dangerous questions:—

“Can the laws be just,” they will say, or rather, I observe they are saying, by resolutions in public meetings, “which allow of this massing of wealth in single hands? Can the fact be right that all those riches are enjoyed by “a few while we are poor?”

It is to me significant that the communist doctrines do not more widely pervade the working classes. May I suggest that in this they not only evince surprising moderation and intelligence? The fact seems indicative of a deeper policy. They appear to know their power, to foresee their opportunity, and to be willing to wait for the time when they can use it most decisively.

II.—The principles and process of an Emigration policy are clear and easily illustrated.

By Emigration the superabundance which at home hampers labour is removed to a new and wider arena for exertion. Working labour immediately experiences relief. Said Mr. Malthus, in his answers to the Committee of 1827: “A
“ comparatively small excess of labour occasions a
“ deterioration of the condition of the labourers in
“ the particular district where such excess exists :
“ or supposing the excess to be general the consequences are equally general, and so is the consequent improvement of the whole body of labourers
“ by the abstraction and removal of any super-
“ abundant portion.” I have already shown that, supposing the field of employment not to be enlarged, the depletion of the labour market will act beneficially on the residue, by sending up wages, and this without diminishing the amount of work done.

A fortiori the relief afforded by the exportation of inert labour would be very great. That is a millstone hanged about the neck of society. The rates imposed to sustain it reduce the profits of the landholder and capitalist, and so far disable them from paying as much for the labour they employ, or competing with foreign markets as they other-

wise could do. Thus, as we incidentally note, inert labour as well as superabundant working labour, press hardly on the actual working man—more hardly on him than on any class of the community. The benefits accruing from the removal of pauper non-labourers are cumulative. An actual tax is suppressed—the general prosperity is increased. Hence, Mr. Malthus and others asserted that English parishes would be solidly benefitted if they taxed themselves to provide an Emigration Fund for their redundant and inert labour.

The reciprocal effects of a depletion of both working and inert labour would be remarkable. While the exportation of inert labour would take off the weight of an actual tax, the diminution of working labour would partially open a field to inert labourers—so lessening their numbers and the poor-rates together.

Were these the only advantages resulting from Emigration, they would amply repay the sacrifice required to secure them. They are not, however, yet numbered. The labourer's condition may be improved, not only by increasing his wages, but by diminishing the prices of the articles he consumes. To illustrate this I take at random an authentic statement of the wages of a Suffolk labourer, whose earnings in 1843, with the assistance of four

members of his family, amounted to 13s. 9d. per week. This was expended as follows:—

	s.	d.
Bread	9	0
Potatoes	1	0
Cheese	0	3
Butter	0	4½
Tea	0	2
Sugar	0	3½
Salt	0	0½
Soap	0	3
Candles	0	3
Blue	0	0½
Thread, &c.	0	2
Coal and Wood	0	9
Rent	1	2
Total	13	9

Now, if the price of the articles specified were reduced in consequence of a larger general supply of any of them, this family, without any increase of wages, would be benefitted proportionately with the reduction. For instance, let us suppose corn to be at a price that enabled them to buy the same quantity of bread for 6s. which they now purchase for 9s. That is their staple. They will have 3s. a week more to spend either in meat, more bread, more coal, or more house-room, with corresponding improvements in health and comfort and ability to work.

The lessening of prices of consumable articles may be effected by increasing the supply of raw material. To do this rapidly and effectually nothing could so well contribute as the development of uncultivated portions of our colonial empire. Every emigrant clearing wild lands and transforming them into crop-bearing fields, adds to the general supply of the world, and helps, by the extent of his production, to decrease prices. Richness of soil, inexpensive culture, low taxation and larger returns, enable him to compete successfully at diminished prices with agriculturists even across an ocean. No small advantage, therefore, is likely to accrue to the working classes in this country from a large emigration of settlers or developers of the soil. In proportion to their numbers and success, articles of consumption at home may be expected to decrease in price. Then the labourer here being able to live more cheaply would be better off as the result of his labour.

Collaterally with this, and out of it, a new benefit springs into notice. At home we have described the emigrant as an impediment to enterprise generally, sometimes a positive tax on the community. He is a small consumer—he creates little demand. But so soon as he traverses the seas and begins to be a producer, he becomes also a consumer. In

proportion to the success of his production will be his want of manufactured articles. His products sent home come back to him in forms which home labour has given them. The illustration of Mr. Wakefield, therefore, is no hyperbole: "When a Hampshire peasant emigrates to Australia he very likely enables an operative to live in Lancashire."

The enormous gain resulting to English manufactures from Colonization, even where our offspring have been made hostile from blundering policy, will at once occur to anyone considering the question, as illustrated by the case of the United States. In 1866 our exports to the United States were £28,484,000, our imports £46,858,000. In 1867 our exports and imports thither and thence respectively were £21,822,000 and £41,048,000. I take at hap-hazard the statistics of our trade with British North America:—

In 1865. Imports		6,356,000
„ Exports		4,705,000
1866. Imports		6,869,000
„ Exports		6,830,000
1867. Imports		6,807,000
„ Exports		5,853,000

But the courtesy of Mr. Wheeler, the agent of the Colony of Queensland, in London, has fur-

nished me with a most interesting and conclusive illustration of the relation between immigration, production, and importation.

Year.	Population.	No. of Acres Under Cultivation.	Exports.	Imports.
1859	25,146			
1860	28,887	3,353	523,477	742,023
1861	34,885	4,440	709,599	967,950
1862	46,300	6,086	793,236	1,323,509
1863	61,640	11,262	888,381	1,713,263
1864	74,036	12,006	1,247,054	2,267,954
1865	87,775	14,414	1,153,464	2,505,559
1866	96,172	24,433	1,366,491	2,467,907

From this it appears that in Queensland, population, acreage under cultivation, exports, and imports, have all increased together in a tolerably even ratio—and we have laid before us a demonstration that supply of what we want, and demand for what we produce, are immediate results of colonial development by Emigration.

Is not all that I have been endeavouring to advance enclosed in germ within the following propositions? “If,” said Mr. Mill, “to carry consumable goods from places where they are superabundant to places where they are scarce,

"is a good pecuniary speculation, is it not an
 "equally good speculation to do the same thing
 "with regard to labour and instruments? The
 "exportation of labourers and capital from old to
 "new countries, from a place where the productive
 "power is less to a place where it is greater,
 "increases by so much the aggregate produce of
 "the labour and capital of the world. It adds to
 "the joint wealth of the old and new country what
 "amounts in a short period to many times the
 "mere cost of effecting the transport. There needs
 "be no hesitation in affirming that Colonization in
 "the present state of the world is the very best
 "affair of business in which the capital of an old
 "and wealthy country can possibly engage."

This passage was evidently written in contempla-
 tion of the Colonization principle, that is, the joint
 exportation of capital and labour. Could the
 advantage of this union be secured, it is unques-
 tionably great, but the possibility of obtaining it
 is dubious. I hesitate in the face of the authorities
 that have spoken on this question, to express a
 dissidence from them, yet an anxious review of all
 the facts leads me to the opinion that the process of
 modern Emigration points out a different course.
 It has been said, "Food must precede labour"—is
 it not equally true that in Colonization labour must

precede capital? The capitalist cannot be seduced from a known field whence the returns are regular though scanty, to unknown and doubtful transpontine adventures. In the colonies where land is cheap and wages are high, labourers are apt to save enough to purchase land for themselves, and to abandon capital in the midst of its undertakings. To settle labour and develop production first appears to be the proper course, and capital will follow. Wealthy men cannot be induced to turn Crusoes on a large scale, to leave a civilised and luxurious society for backwoods and contact with the roughest nature, human and material. Food and instruments precede settlement. That is all that labour requires—the strong arm and sturdy energy of the settler will do the rest. By-and-by as development succeeds, as production increases and wealth flows from production, machinery, railroads, steamers, a large tonnage for exports and imports are needed, and capital enters upon the scene to find a safe field for employment. I hold that pure labour is the best pioneer of capital in new countries.

But if the effects of Emigration at home would be so beneficent that it seems extravagant to depict them, conversely the advantages to the colonies would be inestimable. To us Emigration is relief,

to them it is development. Need I therefore elaborate arguments in proof of the essential value of this policy to them? I think not. They have evinced their appreciation of the issues, though as yet no statesman in Colonial or Imperial Government has appeared to engage with any zeal or breadth of view in the construction of an Emigration policy. To them and to us Emigration is important and imperative, though perhaps the colony benefits most. Our gains are incidental, theirs are direct. I maintain, therefore, the proposition that in any policy of Emigration Great Britain and the colonies are together interested, and must work concertedly. The sacrifice or the risk attending the execution of that policy should be shared by both.

There remains now the simple duty of pointing out briefly what, in my humble judgment, a review of the facts and propositions detailed or hinted at in this essay, suggests as the true Emigration policy of the future.

That Government assistance is necessary, since without it no aid could be extensive enough, I take as proved. Further, I now suggest that it would be better to promote chiefly the emigration of families. A mere labour market should be supplied by young and unencumbered persons. A

settlement should be a collection of homes, both for its own practical efficiency in colonial development, and because there are then diffused through it the refining influences of the domestic relations. I should propose for this reason that Government aid should be principally directed to the exportation of families—that strong fathers, and the weak who are dependent on them, should be sent out together. In a new country children become more valuable every year, and are a source of wealth to their parents. There the pious dictum, hardly appreciated by fathers in this country, becomes a real truth: “Happy is the man who hath his quiver full of them!” As I have already indicated, in pointing out the effect of allowing fathers of families when they seek their fortunes beyond the seas, to leave their wives and children, family Emigration would also have this eminent advantage—it would extend the ratio of relief at home, and often remove from the country a prospective burden of four or five persons.

A family exportation must necessarily be for settlement on *land*. Supply of this excites no difficulty. The colonies, possessing vast tracts, offer it either at low prices or for nothing. The policy, however, of making free land-grants is a dubious one. Though valuable economical results

arise to a colony from settlements on land given away, it occurs to me that the colony by the free-land system throws money to strangers at the expense of the citizens—diminishes its future resources, and prepares a burden of taxation for coming generations—makes cheap that which is valuable, without securing the intended good as rapidly and successfully as might otherwise be done; and besides, by settling a man on a gratuitous system is helping at the outset of his colonial career to destroy his independence and his respect for the advantages he has obtained. Again, the free settler is only bound to his land by the slim thread of its value to him. If it costs him nothing a rich labour-market within reach may tempt him away. Bind him to settle with his family and make good to the colony the price of his allotment, and he will be tied to the place by obligations both social and selfish. The land that no one can get for nothing, the land that is sold to him on advantageous terms as to price and payment, will be worth freeing for a heritage to his family.

Mr. Wakefield, in his "Art of Colonization," successfully exposed the errors of the free-grant system. 'When the acquisition of land is easy, as he urges, labourers soon become landholders, and

capital is dissuaded from investing in farms, for which there is likely to be a stint of labour-supply. But Mr. Wakefield does not appear to have considered the instance of grants of land limited to the capabilities of an ordinary family, where of course extra labour is unnecessary; while, moreover, the "bee" system—a plan of mutual help or co-operation prevailing in new settlements—serves to moderate the requirement for labourers. I should not therefore be so anxious to guard against the difficulties which embarrassed Mr. Wakefield as, *First*, to encourage in the emigrant an independent spirit; *Secondly*, to make him responsible for his own fortunes; *Thirdly*, to secure for the Governments, Home and Colonial, a guarantee of his perseverance, good conduct, and a return of the expenses to which they are put. An elaborate scheme for securing the latter is to be found in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1827. I suggest this repayment because it seems to be feasible, but do not withdraw an inch from the position justified by the former parts of this essay—that a national expenditure for this purpose without direct prospective return would be a gain to the country. One or two of the ample millions annually sunk in fortifications and experimental iron-clads would save more than double the money, and erect for

England better bulwarks than stone or iron can compose.

The amount required for the transport of an emigrant to Canada, which is the nearest and most expedient of all the colonies, is about six guineas, including food; to the Australian colonies about £14 or £15. Children are taken at a reduction. It has been ascertained by careful calculation, and is officially stated by the Canadian Emigration Department, that the amount either in money—or in food and utensils—sufficient to support a family of five, consisting of parents and three children, for the first eighteen months, until their land begins to yield crops enough to sustain them, is £47 sterling, or say £50. From the same authority we have a precise statement of the result of a settlement with less resources which it will be well to quote in connection with that estimate. The Government Emigration agent stated from actual personal inspection and inquiry on the spot in 1860: “There are ninety-
“ five Prussian families settled in the Upper Ottawa
“ country *within the last eighteen months*. Forty of
“ these during that time have progressed in the
“ cultivation and settlement of their wild farms,
“ so far as to prove what any industrious and
“ persevering family, possessed of only seventy-five
“ dollars—say £15 sterling—capital can accom-

“plish. The result of the industry of these forty
 “settlers he gives in this way:—

	Dollars.
Payment of first instalment on 4,000 acres (100 acres to each family)	700 00
Forty log-houses, stables, and barns, at 40 dols.	1600 00
Forty-eight cows, at 25 dols.	1200 00
Six yoke of oxen, at 80 dols.	480 00
Fifteen steers, at 15 dols.	225 00
Forty-five sheep, at 2 dols.	90 00
Seventy-two pigs, at 10 dols.	720 00
260 fowls, at 15c. per pair.	39 00
1400 bushels of wheat, at 1·20 dol.	1680 00
422 „ peas, rye, and barley, at 60 c.	253 20
642 „ oats, at 40 c.	256 80
9060 „ potatoes and turnips, at 30 c.	2718 00
330 lbs. of flax and tobacco, at 10 c.	33 00
40 tons of hay, at 7 dols.	280 00
334 acres cleared, at 10 dols.	3340 00
	13,615 00
Capital of forty settlers, at 75 dols. each.	3,000 00
Net balance in favour of settlement, being 220·60 dols. to each settler	10,615 00

Mr. Sinn also stated that the average produce of wheat that year (1860) was about thirty bushels per acre, and the whole forty settlers furnished him with a certificate of their progress for the guidance of their countrymen who might contemplate removing to Canada, using these words:—“*After*

*“ only eighteen months’ settlement we are in possession
 “ of homesteads which secure to us and our families
 “ the means of a comparatively independent livelihood.
 “ We are all satisfied with the land we have bought
 “ from the Canadian Government. It produces
 “ abundant crops ; and although we possess but little
 “ means, we can, by the aid of remunerative employ-
 “ ment procured from the old settlers, obtain the neces-
 “ saries we require, until we shall have cleared sufficient
 “ land on our own lots to support us. We can, there-
 “ fore, upon our own experience, recommend Canada
 “ to our friends and acquaintances in the old country
 “ who are desirous to emigrate.”*

Such instances as these I could easily multiply. Peter Robinson’s settlers were similarly prosperous. A less successful progress than this would prove how safely Government may count on security and return for their advances. Seventy pounds sterling would transfer a family to Canada, and make them not only self-supporting, but producers. The amount of land to be sold to them can easily be adjusted. Suppose 100 acres, charged to them at one dollar an acre, or about £20 for the whole. Ninety pounds sterling would be the entire sum of the emigrant’s indebtedness to the Home and Colonial Governments. Every tree he fells, and each foot of earth he sows, enhances the value of the

security. A few struggling years and he is free, an independent man, with a happier heart, with broader views, with higher hopes: a pillar to the colony, a patron of home manufactures, a provider of cheaper food to his former fellow-workers. Some outlines of a plan may now fairly be demanded by the reader, and although the aim of this essay is rather to direct popular attention to the exigency of the subject than to insist on any peculiar scheme, I venture to add some suggestions as to the mode in which the previously-stated propositions may be made practically efficient. Whatever plan is adopted should, I think, be moulded for these objects, namely:—

1. To procure as emigrants fathers of families (with families of at least average healthiness) or young married men—able-bodied and of good character. In this the Colonial Governments would be principally interested, and agents of these Governments should therefore be engaged to examine individuals and satisfy themselves of the value of their testimonials. Much discretion must necessarily be accorded to agents in this matter. There are many men living under a cloud in England who would in the colonies become respectable citizens. Fewer and less constant temptations, the hope of better things, an almost com-

pulsory attention to family duties, and the emulation excited by the view of successful efforts made by others who are in precisely similar circumstances, will combine to reform many a generous nature that has been warped from integrity by poverty at home. A short time since a friend asked me to interest myself in the Emigration of a labourer with a family whom he was desirous to benefit. He told me the man was clever, a capital woodman, every way fitted for backwoods life, but "not steady," the well-known euphemism for habits of drunkenness. From what he knew of this person's character and circumstances he thought that, removed from the depression of a sullied name, his transfer to a new scene where he could start freely and be separated from frequent temptation would lead to his reform. A few months after this case was mentioned to me, I wrote to my friend pointing out a way of sending the man to a certain colony. The reply was: "I have lost my interest in him. He was unfortunately detected in dishonesty," &c. Let no one say that if this poor fellow could have been translated from what seemed to be the path of an inevitable destiny at home he would not in fresh circumstances have reformed the tenor of his life. Such cases cannot be uncommon, and the management of them should be left to the

agents. It is the utter hopelessness of extrication from social depression that often changes the faltering steps of men in the direction of crime into a confirmed and steady tramp towards destruction.

The qualifications to be insisted upon by the colonies in candidates for settlements I shall not attempt to direct. Whether artisans are likely to make good agricultural settlers is a point to which experience must long ere this have afforded a solution. No materials are at hand to afford me determinating information upon this matter. I judge from such personal observation as I have made, from the fact that large numbers of artisans unquestionably become prosperous agriculturists, and from the further fact that the cultivation of land is simpler and easier, as well as more cheap in the colonies, that no objection could be taken to a large artisan Emigration on the ground of inexperience in agriculture. In Canada, I believe, the local Emigration agents are practical men, who give advice to emigrants upon the best methods of cultivation, an arrangement which must, to a great extent, obviate the suggested difficulty.

2. To secure *bonâ fide* settlers. I have mentioned that in Nova Scotia many emigrants availed themselves of the assistance of the Government, simply to obtain a free passage across the Atlantic, and

afterwards, instead of settling on their allotments, deserted to the labour-markets of the United States. Probably some legislative action, on the part of both Home and Colonial Governments, will be necessary to meet this difficulty, especially on the part of the dominion of Canada, the neighbourhood of which to the United States, makes easy the abandonment of their settlements by the emigrants. A bond would be required from each colonist, taken on behalf of the Home Government and that of the colony to which he was going, subjecting him to certain penalties in case of his desertion. This might be in the alternative of a fine if he was able to pay it, or of imprisonment for attempted desertion, with a discretion to any justice of the locality to take bail for the release of the offender to secure his return and continuance in the settlement. Indeed, bail might be made demandable in all cases of suspicion.

The apparent harshness of this suggestion dwindles into insignificance when all the circumstances are considered. The emigrant is offered a great boon at some risk and expense. It is voluntary with him to accept it. He has nothing but his person to offer as security for it. If his intention is honest he can scarcely be unwilling, and it can scarcely be unfair for him to pledge his own

liberty for the execution of that part of his agreement which concerns his personal presence at the settlement. This should, however, only be insisted on for a limited period, say two years, sufficient to evince the honesty of his intentions. The agreement should be carefully modified to leave an opening for cases of sickness and disability. It may be safely said that no one would object to accept such a condition if he meant to use the benevolence of Government in accordance with its object. The suggested bond would require also to embody another consideration, namely :—

3. To secure the return, by easy and regular instalments, of the amount advanced for emigration and settlement, and of the value of the land.

To this end the ordinary penal provisions of a bond might be sufficient. The land will become more valuable from year to year, as it is cleared and cropped. Supposing the colonies, which in some cases, have offered land gratuitously, to be willing, as I hereafter suggest, to postpone their claims for a return of the price of the land, until the money advances have been repaid, this improved land will be ample security for those advances. The statistics above, given from an emigration agent's report, give an idea of the rate at which improvement goes on, and show how certainly in the

case of industrious settlers, returns may be counted upon. And the mere aggregation of considerable numbers in any district will tend to enhance the value of the lands, so that in cases of desertion or ejectment, the vacated plots might be sold to old or new settlers at an improved price.

4. To secure the clearing and cropping of the lands.

No objection can be urged against the justice of a covenant that the settler should do his best to work out the objects of his immigration, and to increase the value of the land, until it is in itself a security for his debt to Government. He should be obliged to agree that a certain proportion of the acreage shall be cleared and cultivated within a certain period, say ten acres a year for three or four years, at the end of which time he may be left to exercise his own discretion as to the area of his improvements. This is not a new or unpractical suggestion. Government lands have been *soled* in the Colonies as well as in the United States, subject to covenants for habitation and cultivation within stated periods.

5. To hold out to the settlers inducements to energetic prosecution of their labour by offering to those who, within short periods, have cleared and cultivated the largest proportion of their allotments

prizes of additional patents. This is merely a suggestion of detail, which bears on its face its own argument.

I propose, therefore, that an attempt should be made to gain security for the presence of the settler upon his allotment during a certain time, for the repayment of money advanced to transport him to the settlement and establish him there, and for the execution by him of the object of his emigration. The practical suggestions are made more with the view of indicating the difficulties to be faced than as a dogmatic statement of the way in which they are to be solved. I hope I have, at least, been able to prove that those difficulties are not too serious to be overcome. That a number of cases will occur in which there will be loss without redress, is certain; but that the general result will be infinitely beyond depreciation by any occasional circumstances is, let me assume, vouched by the whole course of my argument.

The main practical question arising upon this project I have as yet not touched. How and whence are the necessary funds to be supplied? Some—who may not have been convinced that as a matter of large and beneficent State policy—like that of free trade—it would in the event actually pay either England or any one of her colonies as an investment

to export emigrants gratuitously—may be ready so far to recognise the attractiveness of such an enterprise, as to be willing that a ministry should run the risk of expending funds for the purpose, upon a reasonable prospect of recovery. Neither of the Colonial Governments is in a position to advance the money requisite for an extensive Emigration. The rate of interest in new countries, owing to the scarcity of capital would, moreover, subject them to undue liabilities. No hope can therefore be entertained that Colonial Governments will directly provide Emigration expenses. To the Imperial exchequer alone, if this policy is worth pursuing, can we look for help. Our Government can borrow the redundant capital of Great Britain at the *minimum* of interest; and surely no patriot will deny that the wealth of the country were better risked in this project than in the hazardous barks of foreign enterprise. Indeed, overlooking the comparatively unimportant expenses attaching to an Emigration Commission, and agencies co-operating with those of the colonies, there is no other way in which Great Britain can contribute to obtain the advantages of a large Colonization.

The reader will have seen that the whole drift of my proposals is in the direction of combined action on the part of the Imperial and Colonial

Governments, and a loan by the Imperial Government, either immediately to the settler upon the security of his person and the land allotted to him by the colony, or to the Colonial Government itself, leaving to the latter the enforcement of every claim against him. In the second case it would be fair to lend the money to the colony at the rate of three per cent. per annum, or without interest, to be repaid within a term of years. Thus the British taxpayer might be called upon simply to pay three per cent. per annum for his confidence in the results of State Emigration, and to run a slight risk of losing two or three millions. To the emigrant it was proposed in 1837 to charge five per cent. on advances. This rate might be adopted, and the difference should be left to the colony for the expenses of collection.

The method of advances, whether they should be made in money or materials—the means of transport, whether in Government or private ships—the relative duties of home and colonial agents—are matters of subordinate detail that require no elaboration for the purpose of concluding the expediency of a policy. These I willingly leave till time demands their solution. *Will it not do so?* The main lines of the subject have been rapidly grouped in this essay, with the earnest desire of demonstrating at once the seriousness of the position, and the

necessity of action. To legislators and patriots who are not legislators, in Great Britain and in the colonies—to capitalists who are embarrassed by the urgency of labour—to labourers who cry out against the tyranny of capital, and are enclosed within iron walls of employment, with no expanding field for enterprise,—I somewhat anxiously commend a consideration of this question. Moreover I urge that Emigration ought not to be regarded as a scheme for a philanthropist, it should be the policy of statesmen—not as a work of charity, but as the business of Government. Far-reaching in its effects, and, like all good policies, involving present sacrifice and risk for the attainment of worthy aims, it will set in motion forces for whose wonderful manifestations we may patiently watch, as the husbandman waits for the slow and silent-springing grain. We are asked in this, as in every measure of golden promise for mankind to exercise that statesmanlike faith which is akin to political sagacity—to

“ Find in loss a gain to match,
To reach a hand thro’ time to catch
The far-off interest of tears.”

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